2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided on a moiety basis.

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back.

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870–72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge.

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was considered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan.

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the ceremonies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe.

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tamí'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series.

Calf-woman's ō'rɛ' 'kūpa (nitɛ) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe.

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood.

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterized the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterizes the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants

[1] Maximilian, II, 122, 843.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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582 Regarding cross-cousin marriage, Two-chiefs said that it was permissible for a man to marry the daughter of a mother's clansman but not the daughter of a mother's own brother. On the other hand, Turtle-woman declared that it was proper for a girl to marry her father's sister's son, and my Hidatsa interpreter explained that this was a point in which Mandan and Hidatsa practices diverged.

606 Not only the wife's mother but also the mother-in-law's sisters and mother avoided the husband.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

From the enslaved and degraded condition in which the women are held in the Indian country, the world would naturally think that theirs must be a community formed of incongruous and unharmonizing materials; and consequently destitute of the fine, reciprocal feelings and attachments which flow from the domestic relations in the civilized world; yet it would be untrue, and doing injustice to the Indians, to say that they were in the least behind us in conjugal, in filial, and in paternal affection. There is no trait in the human character which is more universal than the attachments which flow from these relations, and there is no part of the human species who have a stronger affection and a higher regard for them than the North American Indians. 593

There is no subject in the Indian character of more importance to be rightly understood than this, and none either that has furnished me more numerous instances and more striking proofs, of which I shall make use on a future occasion, when I shall say a vast deal more of marriage—of divorce—of polygamy—and of Indian domestic relations. For the present I am scribbling about the looks and usages of the Indians who are about me and under my eye; and I must not digress too much into general remarks, lest I lose sight of those who are near me, and the first to be heralded. 000

Such, then, are the Mandans—their women are beautiful and modest,—and amongst the respectable families, virtue is as highly cherished and as inapproachable, as in any society whatever; yet at the same time a chief may marry a dozen wives if he pleases, and so may a white man; and if either wishes to marry the most beautiful and modest girl in the tribe, she is valued only equal, perhaps, to two horses, a gun with powder and ball for a year, five or six pounds of beads, a couple of gallons of whiskey, and a handful of awls. 583

The girls of this tribe, like those of most of these north-western tribes, marry at the age of twelve or fourteen, and some at the age of eleven years; and their beauty, from this fact, as well as from the slavish life they lead, soon after marriage vanishes. Their occupations are almost continual, and they seem to go industriously at them, as if from choice or inclination, without a murmur. 582

The principal occupations of the women in this village, consist in procuring wood and water, in cooking, dressing robes and other skins, in drying meat and wild fruit, and raising corn (maize). The Mandans are somewhat of agriculturists, as they raise a great deal of corn and some pumpkins and squashes. This is all done by the women, who make their hoes of the shoulder-blade of the buffalo or the elk, and dig the ground over instead of ploughing it, which is consequently done with a vast deal of labour. They raise a very small sort of corn, the ears of which are not longer than a man's thumb. This variety is well adapted to their climate, as it ripens sooner than other varieties, which would not mature in so cold a latitude. The green corn season is one of great festivity with them, and one of much importance. The greater part of their crop is eaten during these festivals, 462 241 251

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

was customary for the clan to meet in the clan leader's lodge and make provisions for the accumulation of goods to be used in the rites. It was believed that a successful ceremony with an abundance of gifts to be given away brought credit to the entire clan.

Moieties were in theory exogamous, but they had ceased to regulate marriage after 1837. Scattercorn explained that, while the Mandan considered those who sat on the same side in the Okipa or in council as brothers, it was considered better to marry into a clan of the same moiety than to marry outside the tribe. Marriages within the clan were disapproved.

The clan was a property-holding group. The major bundles of the Okipa ceremony were held in the WaxikEna clan, which also owned the sacred cedar and controlled the Okipa lodge and sacred turtles. Traditionally, the Shell Robe bundle belonged in the Prairie Chicken clan. Eagle-trapping lodges belonged to the clan of the member building it and remained in the clan when the original owner died. There were two bundles for the Big Bird ceremonies which were known as Black Medicine bundle and Sweet Medicine bundle. The former was inherited in the Prairie Chicken clan and the latter in the Speckled Eagle clan of the same moiety. Each clan was the theoretical custodian of one variety of corn. The WaxikEna clan was custodian of the bluish-green flint corn; the Tamisik had the red corn; the Prairie Chicken had the yellow flint and dent; the Speckled Eagle had the rainbow corn. Crows Heart stated that Hides-and-Eats, an old woman who lived in his lodge, told him that, when she was young, people of one clan were not permitted to raise corn belonging to the other clans without first securing the rights and that each clan claimed to be the preserver of its own corn.

It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members. It was the clan's duty to care for its old people having no blood children. During the smallpox epidemic of 1837, women went through the villages and gathered the orphans of their clan, who were taken into their lodges to be reared. Old people were invited in to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. When returning from a successful hunt, young men would offer meat to the old people who met them at the outskirts of the village. One was expected to offer meat to old people of the same clan without being asked for it.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan.

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral.

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the